

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-05 L-02 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-15 NSC-05 OIC-02 EB-07 FEAE-00 COME-00

OES-03 SAM-01 NEA-06 AF-04 AEC-05 MC-01 AECE-00 /089 W

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R 241121Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6983

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 19701

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, MARR, GW

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION REPLY TO GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON  
NATO MINISTERIALS

REF: BONN 19585

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE OPPOSITION DOES NOT SHARE THE  
OFFICIAL FRG OPTIMISTIC ASSESSMENT OF THE DECEMBER 9-13  
NATO MINISTERIAL MEETINGS. THE OPPOSITION FEARS EROSION  
OF THE ALLIANCE IN LIGHT OF THE INTRACTABLE ECONOMIC  
PROBLEMS FACING IT TODAY. THE OPPOSITION EXPRESSED  
DISAPPOINTMENT THAT NO "CONCRETE RESULTS" WERE  
ACHIEVED IN BRUSSELS. END SUMMARY

1. FOLLOWING FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER'S REPORT TO THE  
BUNDESTAG ON DECEMBER 19 REGARDING THE NATO MINISTERIAL  
MEETINGS (REFTEL), CDU/CSU DEFENSE SPOKESMAN MANFRED  
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WOERNER ROSE BEFORE A SPARSELY POPULATED CHAMBER TO

REPLY FOR THE OPPOSITION. WOERNER'S REMARKS WERE QUITE EXTENSIVE AND TOOK ABOUT THREE TIMES AS LONG TO DELIVER AS THE GOVERNMENT DECLARATION. HIGHLIGHTS OF HIS CRITICISM ARE REPORTED BELOW.

2. WOERNER QUESTIONED WHETHER THE SOLIDARITY OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES IS SUFFICIENT TO MEET TODAY'S HISTORIC CHALLENGES. HE MENTIONED IN PARTICULAR THE GROWING INSUFFICIENCY OF OIL, THE USE OF THE OIL WEAPON BY THE ARAB STATES, AND THE GROWING SCARCITY OF RAW MATERIALS. HE SAID IT IS NECESSARY TO HALT THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EROSION OF THE ALLIANCE, VOICING DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE OUTCOME OF THE NATO MINISTERIALS DID NOT LIVE UP TO THE "SERIOUS SITUATION" OF THE ALLIANCE.

3. WOERNER QUESTIONED GENSCHER'S GENERALLY POSITIVE REPORT, STATING THAT HE DID NOT SHARE THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S OPTIMISM. HE ASKED WHAT THE "CONCRETE RESULTS" OF THE MEETINGS WERE, NOTING THAT THE MEMBER COUNTRIES DID NOT COMMIT THEMSELVES TO MAINTAIN - MUCH LESS INCREASE - THEIR DEFENSE CONTRIBUTIONS OR TO AGREE TO MEASURES OF RATIONALIZATION, STANDARDIZATION AND DIVISION OF LABOR. WOERNER BELIEVES THAT BECAUSE OF THE LACK OF AGREEMENT ON CONCRETE MEASURES DIFFERENCES OF OPINION WILL INCREASE BETWEEN AMERICANS AND EUROPEANS REGARDING FUTURE STRATEGY.

4. WOERNER CONTINUED THAT THE NATO COUNTRIES HAD FAILED TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE INTRACTABLE PROBLEMS WHICH WE ALL FACE. HE THEN TICKED OFF THE VARIOUS NATO MEMBER STATES - SUCH AS GREECE, ITALY, PORTUGAL, DENMARK, HOLLAND, BELGIUM AND THE UK - IN WHICH THERE ARE SERIOUS PROBLEMS OF ONE VARIETY OR ANOTHER. IN PARTICULAR, HE DISPAIRED OF THE WEAKENED WESTERN GLOBAL MARITIME PRESENCE WHICH THE BRITISH DRAWDOWN ON INTERVENTION FORCES WOULD OCCASION. HE SAID BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION WOULD OF NECESSITY PLAN TO FILL THE GAP. FURTHERMORE, THE SITUATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN WOULD WORSEN. HE SAID THE CDU/CSU IS SERIOUSLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PLANNED UK CUTBACK, AND

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HE ASKED THAT THE BRITISH RECONSIDER THEIR PLANS.

5. WOERNER SAID THAT THE ALLIANCE HAS TRIED TO LIMIT ITS CONCERNS TO CENTRAL EUROPE, AND THAT CRISES OUTSIDE THE AREA HAVE THUS FAR NOT BEEN AN AREA OF LEGITIMATE NATO CONCERN. HOWEVER, THE LAST MIDDLE EAST CRISIS DEMONSTRATED THAT THIS WAS NOT THE CASE. HE VOICED THE HOPE THAT A NEW WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST COULD BE

AVOIDED. BUT, SHOULD IT BREAK OUT, NATO MUST REACT  
WITH SOLIDARITY AND NOT LEAVE THE U.S. IN THE LURCH  
AS IT DID THE LAST TIME.

6. WITH REGARD TO U.S. TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS DEPLOYED  
IN EUROPE, WOERNER REEMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE  
THREE ELEMENTS OF THE NATO TRIAD. HE SAID IT IS  
RECOGNIZED THAT MODERNIZATION OF U.S. TACTICAL NUCLEAR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 19701

WEAPONS MAY BE NECESSARY. THE OPPOSITION WOULD NOT  
OBJECT TO SUCH MODERNIZATION, BUT EMPHASIZED MOST  
STRONGLY THAT THE U.S. SHOULD CONSULT BEFOREHAND WITH  
ITS NATO PARTNERS, BASING ITS DECISION FOR MODERNIZATION  
UPON UNDERSTANDABLE CRITERIA. WOERNER ALSO WARNED  
THAT CARE SHOULD BE USED IN CONSIDERING THE QUESTION OF

TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS.

7. COMMENT: WOERNER IS BASICALLY A STRONG SUPPORTER OF THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, AND HIS EXTENSIVE CRITICISM OF THE RESULTS OF THE NATO MINISTERIALS SEEMED TO BE OFFERED MORE IN SORROW THAN IN ANGER. WOERNER MADE A POINT OF CONGRATULATING BOTH FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER AND DEFENSE MINISTER LEBER FOR THEIR REPRESENTATION OF FRG INTERESTS IN BRUSSELS AND FOR THEIR ADVOCACY OF THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN NATO CONVENTIONAL DEFENSES. SEVERAL  
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TIMES IN HIS REMARKS WOERNER ALLUDED FAVORABLY TO THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE ALLIANCE, AND IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT HE REFERRED TO THE FAILURE OF THE ALLIANCE TO SUPPORT U.S. RESUPPLY EFFORTS TO ISRAEL - WITH THE NOTABLE EXCEPTION OF PORTUGAL - DURING THE YOM KIPPUR WAR. WOERNER AND HIS PARTY ARE STAUNCH FRIENDS OF THE ALLIANCE, AND THE CRITICISM VOICED SHOULD BE CONSIDERED CONSTRUCTIVE IN INTENT. END COMMENT  
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